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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the causes of the apparent failure of black parents to pass their status advantages along to their children. The black-white differences in status transmission found by Duncan are discussed, explaining his findings by means of the Wisconsin model of status attainment. To explain the lesser dependence of the son's status on the father's status for blacks, it was hypothesized that this difference generally resided in the indirect effects of "significant others." A proportionate stratified random cluster sample of 1,166 white males and 287 black males who were Louisiana high school seniors utilized two dependent variables, those of educational and occupational aspirations, and three exogenous variables, those of the father's education, mother's education, and father's occupation. Intervening variables relating to educational encouragement, grades, and college plans were analyzed as "significant others" influences. Racial differences are inadequately explained by the Wisconsin model, because the hypothesis was not substantially verified by statistical analysis. Black aspiration levels appear unrealistically high when compared with those of whites, suggesting that black youths place less emphasis on the mechanisms of social constraints than do white youths. The Wisconsin model does not take this aspect into account. (AG)

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BLACK-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS*

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The idea that substantial differences in the process of social mobility exist or have existed among the various racial and ethnic groups has long held in sociology despite the lack of sufficient empirical documentation. Thus, Rosen (1959), in drawing on the earlier work of Warner and his associates (Warner and Srole, 1946), simply accepted as a given a condition of considerable variation in rates of upward social mobility among six minority groups. That there are or have been differences in the mean status positions of the various groups is not at issue. Rather, the key consideration here is one of differential rates of mobility between father's occupation and son's occupation. There have been few empirical studies upholding claims for such differences (Nam, 1959). In addition, a number of these studies have been severely criticized for methodological inadequacies (Pfautz and Duncan, 1950; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1968).

As best as we can determine, the only well established documentation for the case of differential mobility comes quite recently from Duncan (1968a). Using data from the March, 1962 "Occupational Changes in a Generation" study, Duncan was able to construct somewhat aggregated intergenerational occupational mobility tables for Negro and non-Negro men aged 25-64 years. Among his findings were some that could not have been altogether anticipated. As expected, he found that most blacks were concentrated in the lower manual occupational levels. This differential distribution of blacks and whites, however, could not be fully explained by the lower origin status of most blacks. Rather, the differing mobility patterns of the two races accounted for the larger portion of the explanation. For instance, a striking finding was that blacks whose fathers held higher white-collar jobs were much less likely than similar whites to "inherit"

their fathers' occupation. Thus, the proportion of blacks with high origin status who experienced substantial downward mobility was much greater than that for whites. As might be expected under such circumstances, Duncan found that while the proportion of blacks experiencing upward mobility was low, those that did move up in the occupational structure generally moved farther than corresponding whites. Thus he concludes:

> In sociological jargon, then, an overwhelming preponderance of the small Negro 'middle-class' is composed of men new to that status, while a very substantial minority of the non-Negro 'middle-class' consists of men who originated there.
>
> (Duncan, 1968a: 21)

The general picture one obtains from Duncan's tables is that of a marked lack of what might be called "intergenerational holding power" in the occupational achievement of blacks. For some reason not ascertainable in this type of analysis, black parents appear to be much less capable than their white counterparts of passing on to their children any status advantages they may have obtained.

The failure of this type of social mobility analysis to suggest reasonable explanations for these findings is a key point to be considered here. Researchers engaged in this mode of analysis have essentially only been comparing zero-order correlations between father's occupational status and son's occupational status. While findings of substantial differences in such correlations among various groups may be interesting, by themselves they offer little insight into how the process of social mobility differs among the groups. To examine this question of processual differences adequately, a detailed analysis of the specific mechanisms that create the father-to-son dependence is needed.

The causal model of the "process of status transmission" introduced

by Blau and Duncan (1967) affords us the opportunity for a preliminary examination of the nature of this dependence. More specifically, the Blau-Duncan model focuses primarily on the role of education and initial entry into the labor force in mediating the effects of father's status on son's status. Although Duncan has examined black-white differences in a number of papers (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1968), his work most relevant to our considerations is the paper entitled "Inheritance of Poverty or Inheritance of Race" (Duncan, 1968b).

In this work, Duncan estimates a modified model for both blacks and whites and attempts to draw substantive conclusions from the observed differences. Figure 1 presents the two models with path regression coefficients. Table 1 presents the decomposition of the effects of parental status characteristics on son's educational and occupational attainments in unstandardized form. It should be noted here that throughout our analyses we will be primarily interested in comparisons of unstandardized regression coefficients, since, in comparing populations, standardized coefficients are sensitive to differences in standard deviation ratios (Blalock, 1967). One additional note of caution should be mentioned before proceeding. Duncan's parental status variables refer to the respondent's family head rather than his father. While in most cases they will be the same, any discrepancy should be greater for blacks than whites. This definition of variables, unfortunately, could conceivably account for any observed differences between the models.

On the whole, Table 1 tells us that the family head's education has nearly equal total effects for both races on the respondent's educational and occupational attainment, although these effects are not mediated to as great a degree for blacks as they are for whites. Family head's

occupation, on the other hand, has consistently much larger effects on the respondent's status attainments for whites than it does for blacks. This finding, of course, is consistent with Duncan's conclusion obtained via his analysis of intergenerational occupational mobility tables. Further, the effect of the respondent's education on his own occupational status for whites is more than twice that for blacks. Thus, Duncan concludes:

> Negro families with better than average educational levels do, in general, succeed in 'passing along' a comparable level of educational attainment to their children. But, again, the latter are less able than are white children to convert such attainment into occupational achievement and commensurate monetary returns to education.
> (Duncan, 1968b: 96)

It seems to be the case, then, that blacks are handicapped in their chances for occupational mobility in two ways. First, they are unable to utilize effectively the advantages of higher origin status when it exists. Second, they are also unable to utilize effectively the advantages of higher educational attainment when it exists. The problem now becomes one of determining if these two handicaps arise primarily from the same source or from separate sources. While it seems quite likely that the inability of blacks to fully utilize their educational attainment might be primarily a function of overt discrimination in the job market, the case is not as strong for a similar explanation of their inability to utilize their origin status. If the direct effects of family head's occupation on respondent's occupation were nearly equal for blacks and whites and the difference in total effects was solely a function of lower indirect effects (through education) for blacks, then it would be possible to tentatively favor the discrimination explanation for both handicaps faced by blacks. This, however, is clearly not the case as the direct

effect for whites is .138 compared to .005 for blacks. It appears, then, that we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the inability of blacks to capitalize on their parental occupational status.

Unfortunately, we have again reached the limits of explanation provided by a mode of analysis. In order to determine more specifically the processual differences between blacks and whites, we must, at the least, be able to explain how the dependence between parental occupational status and son's occupational status is generated for whites. As Table 1 shows, however, almost half the total effect for whites is direct and, thus, "unexplainable" in Duncan's model.

A more detailed causal model of the "status attainment process" has been developed by Sewell and his associates (Sewell, Haller, Portes, 1969; Sewell, Haller, Ohlendorf, 1970; Hauser, 1972). This model, which has been called the "Wisconsin Model"(Haller and Portes, 1972), is based on a social psychological orientation and, in effect, expands the Blau-Duncan model by specifying variables which intervene between social origins and subsequent status attainment. Whereas the Blau-Duncan model represents a basic one-step transmission process -- parental status to achieved status -- the Wisconsin model can be viewed as a three-step process. Parental status and the respondent's mental ability are assumed to influence the encouragement of significant others, which, in turn, affects educational and occupational aspirations. Finally, these aspirations are shown to have large effects on early educational and occupational status.

Thus, the major thrust of the Wisconsin model is that aspiration levels operate as effective intervening variables in the status attainment process by mediating the effect of parental status on achieved status. In addition, the effects of parental status on aspiration levels are mediated to some extent by the influence of significant others. For our purposes, then, we

will want to examine in some detail the explanations provided by the Wisconsin model for the racial variation in the effect of father's occupational status observed by Duncan.

Prior to this, however, by applying the logic of the Wisconsin model to the racial differences found by Duncan, we can derive a number of possible explanations which can, at least, be partially tested with our data. Initially, a plausible explanation for the apparent inability of black parents to "transmit" status advantages to their children would center around the fact that, while the process by which aspiration levels are generated for both races is similar, because of broad and general discrimination against blacks, they are unable to utilize any advantages parental status, significant other influence, or aspiration levels may provide. Thus, in terms of the Wisconsin model, this explanation would predict that the only substantive differences between the black and white models would be a much smaller effect of aspiration levels on status attainment for blacks.

Although dealing with black-white income differences, Duncan has presented evidence which would reinforce the plausibility of this argument:

> At least one-third of the [Negro-white] income gap arises because Negro and white men in the same line of work, with the same amount of formal schooling, with equal ability, from families of the same size and same socio-economic level, simply do not draw the same wages and salaries.
> (Duncan, 1968b: 108)

A second and equally plausible explanation would be that the process by which aspiration levels are generated differ among blacks and whites, irrespective of the differential nature of the aspiration to attainment link. Specifically, it is possible that parental status plays a much less important role either directly or indirectly through significant other influence in the case of blacks. Evidence tending to support this hypothesis has been presented by Gordon (1971) in which, in an analysis of the educa-

tional aspiration process, it was found that "parental aspirations" for their children had smaller effects for blacks than whites. In addition, Rosen's (1959) earlier research with related variables revealed that, while black mothers held educational aspirations for their sons comparable to that of other minorities, they held the lowest occupational aspirations of any group studied. This explanation would predict, then, in terms of the Wisconsin model, that, while the total effect of parental status on son's aspiration levels would be smaller for blacks, a sizeable portion of the difference would be due to smaller indirect effects through parental influence for blacks.

On the other hand, there are two additional, methodological explanations for the racial differences observed by Duncan. The first, already noted above, is that, because of the greater frequency of non-intact families found among blacks, there are substantial measurement differences between blacks and whites. Specifically, it could be that, while family head's status, as measured by Duncan, actually represents father's status for whites, this is not the case for a large proportion of blacks. If this is the correct explanation for Duncan's finding, then we should effectively avoid the problem as the father's status variables in our data represent that of biological fathers only.

A second methodological explanation would be that blacks are less able than whites to accurately report their father's status characteristics, thereby attenuating the relationships in the black model. In a recent study comparing the reports of black and white high school seniors of their parent's status characteristics with their parent's own reports, Kerckhoff, Mason, and Poss (1971) found that differences in the student's accuracy between the two races, while present, were not as large as might be anticipated. Ideally, we would want to be able to correct the student's

reports for measurement error and then estimate the "error-free" models. Recent unpublished work by Mason and Hauser, however, has been unable to determine an adequate measurement model which fits the data. Thus, while some portion of the black-white differences found in this paper is probably due to differential measurement error, we will have to wait until a suitable model is constructed before determining precisely the effect of this bias.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to evaluate, in so far as is possible with our data, the causes of the apparent failure of black parents to pass their status advantages along to their children. This statement of purpose must be modified because we have no data on the status attainments of the members of our sample. Indeed, we know of no existing data set which combines the social psychological variables of the Wisconsin model with educational and occupational attainments for both blacks and whites. Until such a data set is collected, we will be in the middle ground of attempting to develop reasonable theories with less than adequate data. We are, however, in a position to evaluate the two substantive explanations outlined above dealing with the possibility that black aspiration levels are generated differently than those of whites.

The Data

A proportionate, stratified, random cluster sample of Louisiana high school seniors was selected. High schools within the state were stratified on the basis of residence (urban-rural), school type (public-parochial), race (black-white), and size of senior class (less than 100, 100-500, over 500). All public and parochial schools in the state were included in the sampling frame, regardless of racial exclusiveness. Questionnaires were administered to all seniors present the day group interviews were scheduled. The data were collected during the Fall of

1970. The data analyzed are for all male students with all data present. We have data on 1,166 white males and 287 black males (24 whites and 10 blacks were excluded due to missing data on one or more variables).

The exogenous variables utilized in this study are father's education, mother's education, and father's occupation. They are operationalized as follows:

Father's Education (X_9) - Determined by the following question: What was the highest school grade completed by your father?

0 - None	7 - Seventh Grade	14 - Some College
1 - First Grade	8 - Eighth Grade	16 - Bachelors Degree
2 - Second Grade	9 - Ninth Grade	17 - Some Graduate School
3 - Third Grade	10 - Tenth Grade	18 - Masters Degree
4 - Fourth Grade	11 - Eleventh Grade	20 - Doctors Degree
5 - Fifth Grade	12 - Twelfth Grade	
6 - Sixth Grade	13 - Vocational-Technical	

Mother's Education (X_8) - Operationalized identically as "Father's Education."

Father's Occupation (X_7) - Determined by assigning "Transform to NORC scale" prestige scores (Duncan, 1961: 263-275) to the occupation, industry, and class of worker that the respondent indicated described the job his father held in November 1970. If the father was unemployed or deceased at the time of the study, the last job held by the respondent's father was coded.

Five intervening variables were incorporated into the model presented here. They are: high school grade point average, parental educational encouragement, teacher's educational encouragement, peer's educational encouragement, and peer's college plans. These variables are operationalized as follows:

High School Grade Point Average (X_6) - Determined by the respondent's report of grades received in an exhaustive list of high school courses. Additionally, actual grade point average was obtained from guidance counselors for approximately half the respondents. The zero-order correlation between reported GPA and actual GPA is .773. Reported GPA was selected as an indicator of this variable primarily because the loss of sample size was negligible. A correction for measurement error has not been made in this paper because we have not yet determined the proper measurement model.

Parental Educational Encouragement (X_5) - Determined by the following question: In general, my parents have --

1 - Strongly discouraged me from going to college

2 - Discouraged me from going to college

3 - Have not influenced me one way or the other concerning going to college

4 - Encouraged me to go to college

5 - Strongly encouraged me to go to college

Teacher's Educational Encouragement (X_4) - Operationalized identically as "Parental Educational Encouragement."

Peer's Educational Encouragement (X_{3b}) - Operationalized identically as "Parental Educational Encouragement."

Peer's College Plans (X_{3a}) - Determined by the following question: Most of my close friends are --

1 - Going to college

0 - Not going to college, probably going to work

0 - Going into military service

The two ultimate dependent variables in this study are educational and occupational aspirations. They are operationalized as follows:

Educational Aspiration (X_2) - Determined by the following question: How much education do you desire and will actively attempt to get?

0 - None after high school
1 - Vocational-Technical
2 - Some College
4 - Bachelors Degree
6 - Masters Degree
8 - Doctors Degree

Occupational Aspiration (X_1) - Determined from the following question: Now we would like to know what job you desire and will attempt to attain as a lifetime job? Responses were coded in the same manner as "Father's Occupation."

The Results

Before presenting the results of our analysis, there are two differences between our model and the Wisconsin model that need to be examined. First, we have no variable comparable to "mental ability" employed as an exogenous variable Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970). While such an omission will obviously reduce our predictive power on subsequent variables, we do not feel it will seriously bias the results of our primary concern -- the effect of parental status on son's aspiration levels. These effects would be seriously biased if both of two conditions were met in the data: (1) son's mental ability were highly correlated with parental status characteristics, and (2) son's mental ability had substantial effects on later variables in the model that were also strongly effected by parental status. While Sewell, et al. find that the second condition is met, they do not find a large correlation between mental ability and a composite measure of parental status. Likewise, a number of other studies, utilizing different data sets, have reported similar low correlations (Duncan, Featherman, Duncan, 1968; Duncan, Haller, Portes, 1968; Elder, 1968).

The second difference, which we will examine in more detail, deals with the question of which indicator to use in operationalizing the

significant other influence of peer friends. Although Sewell utilizes a variable almost identical to our "Peer's college plans", we get the feeling from his writings that he would really rather have a straightforward encouragement variable similar to the ones he has for parents and teachers. The reason for this inferred preference seems fairly obvious since, on face value, the two peer influence variables would appear to define rather different concepts.

The educational encouragement variables seem to represent a conceptualization of significant other influence along the lines identified as "definers" by Woelfel and Haller (1971). That is, these variables appear to measure that aspect of significant other influence in which the significant other functions primarily to define suitable educational goals for the respondent.

On the other hand, the "Peer's college plans" variable seems to represent a quite different conceptualization in that it focuses primarily on the significant other as a role model, rather than as a definer. In this case it is essentially irrelevant whether or not the significant other has actually formulated any educational goals for the respondent. The respondent here is the active participant in that he is seen as attempting to model his behavior on that of the significant other. Thus, by using the peer's college plans variable, the Wisconsin model makes the implicit assumption that, whereas parents and teachers exercise their influence on the respondent by defining educational goals for him, peer influence is exercised by role modeling behavior on the part of the respondent himself. Since we have both peer influence variables in our data set, we can make a preliminary test of this assumption.

Table 2 gives the zero-order correlations for all variables in our data separately by race, and Table 3 gives their means and standard deviations.

A very cursory inspection of Table 2 reveals that the correlations between peer's college plans and aspiration levels are substantially larger for both races than those between peer's educational encouragement and aspiration levels. Further, the correlations between the two peer influence variables are uniformly smaller than those between the three educational encouragement variables.

In order to determine more precisely the comparable effects of these two peer influence variables on educational and occupational aspirations, we estimated a combined model with both indicators included. Figure 2 presents the path diagram of this model. Table 4 gives the estimated path coefficients, and Table 5 gives the estimated unstandardized path regression coefficients for this combined model for both races.

By examining the path coefficients presented in Table 4, one comes to the immediate conclusion that peer's college plans is a much more effective variable in the model than peer's educational encouragement. There appear to be three rather striking results which would lead to this conclusion. First, for both blacks and whites, the effect of peer's college plans on both educational and occupational aspiration is more than three times that of peer's educational encouragement. Second, again in both models, the effect of peer's college plans on aspiration levels is greater than that of any other significant other influence variable. Finally, and particularly in the white model, peer's college plans does a much better job of mediating effects in that it is effected to a greater degree by prior variables in the model than peer's educational encouragement.

On the basis of this preliminary analysis, we can conclude that peer influence operates on aspiration levels primarily through the role modeling behavior of the respondent. This is, in fact, precisely the type of influence assumed by Duncan, Haller and Portes (1968) in their non-

recursive model of aspirations. While Woelfel and Haller (1971) have performed reasonably complete analyses on the operation of the significant other influence of adults on the aspirations of students, such analyses have not been performed on the operation of peer influence. Given the fact that peer influence seems to be at least as important a determinate of student's aspirations as parental influence, we feel that more thorough analyses of this subject should be undertaken.

As a result of these findings, we have modified our model by eliminating the peer's educational encouragement variable, and, thus, making our analysis more directly comparable to the Wisconsin model. Figure 3 presents the path model on which the remainder of this paper will be based. Estimated path coefficients are given in Table 7, and path regression coefficients are given in Table 8. Table 10, on which most of our conclusions will be based, gives the unstandardized decomposition of the total effects of all independent variables on educational and occupational aspirations.

As our primary concern in this paper is a comparison of black-white differences, we are initially interested in examining the coefficients contained in Table 8. As was noted previously, since these coefficients are in unstandardized form, we can make racial comparisons between the actual values of the various effects. Thus, if two coefficients are equal or nearly equal in size, as in the case of the effect of mother's education on reported GPA, we can say that this portion of the process is essentially the same for the two races. There is a problem with this procedure, however, that has to do primarily with the fact that we have different sample sizes for the two races. For instance, while the effect of mother's education on peer's college plans is statistically significant for whites and not so for blacks, the coefficient is actually a bit larger for blacks. We

are forced at this point to make a choice between statistical significance and substantive significance over statistical significance.

What we really want to do is compare the actual values of the coefficients for the two races to determine whether or not the process by which aspiration levels are generated differs. The fact that two coefficients are essentially equal is of more importance to our purpose than the fact that one is statistically significant and the other is not owing to differential sample sizes. We realize that there are probably alternative statistical tests which would take the differential sample sizes into consideration, and we plan to investigate thoroughly these alternatives.

In examining Table 8, it is important to keep in mind that we will be looking at differences in net effects only, since in Table 10 we will be looking at something quite different. We must also be careful in formulating the verbal interpretations we give to observed differences from both of these tables. Specifically, since the coefficients are in unstandardized form, we can say nothing about the effect of one variable with respect to the effect of some other variable. What we can say is something about the effect of one variable for whites with respect to the effect of that same variable for blacks. The name of our game is the comparison of effects for blacks and whites, not the determination of the importance of variables.

The first finding to emerge from Table 8 is that in every case the intercept value for blacks is higher than that for whites. While this might seem to be a curious finding to point out, we feel it might indicate some key differences between the two processes. This issue will be discussed in more detail later in the paper. Now, marching through Table 8 equation by equation, we find that the patterns of differences in the GPA

equation are somewhat mixed. In general, parent's education plays a somewhat more important role for blacks than it does for whites. However, father's occupation plays a greater role for whites than it does for blacks. Although none of these differences are especially large, it seems likely that these differences could be a reflection of the finding reported earlier by Duncan that black parents have no difficulty in passing educational advantages along to their children.

Examining the significant other equations as a group, we find some patterns beginning to emerge. First, there is almost no difference between the races in the effect of father's occupation. Second, the effect of GPA is smaller for blacks in every case. The interracial patterns of effects for parental education, however, are not consistent. For parental educational encouragement both parental education variables have larger effects for whites than blacks. In the equation for teacher's educational encouragement, father's education has a slightly larger effect for blacks, but mother's education has a much larger effect for whites. Finally, in the peer's college plans equation, while the patterns are reversed, the differences are not as great.

Of particular interest in these three equations is the relative failure of GPA to perform as effectively for blacks as it does for whites, particularly in the cases of teacher's educational encouragement and peer's college plans. It seems that, for some reason, blacks are less able to utilize as effectively as whites their academic performance in eliciting significant other support for higher education. Further, with regard to parental educational encouragement, black parents with higher educational attainments do not seem to offer educational encouragement as readily as do similar white parents.

Turning to educational and occupational aspirations, one finds immediately

that the patterns of black-white differences are the same for the two equations. In both cases, the father's status variables have smaller effects for blacks, whereas mother's education has larger effects for blacks. In contrast to our previous findings with the significant other influence variables, GPA has consistently much larger effects in these equations for blacks. Finally, all three significant other influence variables have smaller effects for blacks than they do for whites.

Although black youths seem less inclined than white youths to pattern their aspiration levels on their father's status attainment, they do seem to base their aspirations on their mother's education more than whites. On the other hand, blacks seem more sensitive than whites to their own academic performance in developing their aspirations. Finally, with regard to significant other support for higher education, whites seem to take this influence more seriously than do blacks.

As was noted above, these interpretations refer to net or direct effects only. In order to gain a more thorough understanding of the differences in the process for blacks and whites, we have to examine the coefficients in Table 10. This table gives the decomposition, in terms of direct and indirect effects, of the total effects of each independent variable on both educational and occupational aspiration. Again, these coefficients are in unstandardized form to allow direct comparisons between the two races.

Beginning with the parental status variables, we see initially that the total effect of father's education on both aspiration variables is much larger for whites than blacks. With respect to educational aspiration, this difference seems to be a function of the fact that, whereas, for whites about half the total effect is not mediated by either SOI or GPA, virtually all of the total effect for blacks is mediated by the intervening variables. Although the pattern is basically the same for occupational aspiration, here

the indirect effect through GPA is somewhat larger for blacks, while through SOI it is much larger for whites.

Mother's education, on the other hand, has nearly equal total effects for blacks and whites on educational aspiration, but has a much larger total effect on occupational aspiration for blacks. With some minor differences the pattern of decomposition of the effect of mother's education on educational aspiration is about the same for both races. The key difference in the effects on occupational aspiration, however, is the quite large direct effect found for blacks. Whereas, somewhat more than half of the total effect is mediated for whites, less than a quarter of it is mediated for blacks.

The total effect of father's occupation is only a bit larger for whites on educational aspiration, but it is much larger for whites on occupational aspiration. Again, the pattern of decomposition for educational aspiration is about the same for the two races. For occupational aspiration, however, there appear to be two key differences. First, while half of the total effect is direct for whites, the total effect, again, is virtually all mediated for blacks. In addition, the indirect effect through GPA is much larger for whites than blacks.

Overall, a number of patterns emerge from these data. First, in virtually every case the indirect effect of parental status through significant other influence is greater for whites than blacks. Second, the total effects of father's status are greater for whites in every case. In most cases this seems to be a result of sizeable direct effects for whites compared to essentially no direct effects for blacks.

To put these findings into substantive conclusions, it seems that blacks with higher status fathers are less inclined than similar whites to aspire to the same high levels their fathers have attained. The reason for

this apparent difference, however, is not altogether clear. Numerically, the greater portion of the discrepancy between the races occurs in larger direct effects for whites. Interestingly, this finding tells us that this model works very well in describing the process by which the status of black fathers is transmitted to their sons in aspiration terms. The existence of large and persistent direct effects for whites, on the other hand, tells us that we have yet to fully explain the process.

In other words, there is another aspect of the process, not included in our model, which ties the aspirations of white youths even more closely to their father's status. The situation, however, is reversed when we consider mother's education. Our model does not include the major portion of the black process by which mother's educational status is translated into son's occupational aspirations.

Turning now to GPA and the significant other variables, we come to essentially the same conclusions reached before in examining Table 8. Thus, while the total effects of GPA on aspiration levels are generally greater for blacks than whites, the portion of the effects mediated by SOI are quite small for both races. Finally, the effects of SOI on aspirations are consistently greater for whites than blacks.

Discussion and Conclusions

Our primary purpose in this paper has been to attempt to explain via the Wisconsin model of status attainment, the black-white differences in status transmission found by Duncan. Two alternative hypotheses were offered, concerning the differential nature of the process from parental status to aspiration levels, to explain the smaller dependence of son's status on father's status for blacks. On the basis of our findings we are in a position to conclude that there are substantial differences in the process for the two races. The differences, however, are not quite

what we expected. Our prediction was that, while the total effects of father's status on son's aspirations would be lower for blacks, the major portion of this difference would reside in the indirect effect through significant other influence. While we do find such differences, they are neither as large as we anticipated nor large enough to account for the black-white differences in total effects.

On the basis of the findings presented above, our conclusion must be that, while we have indeed found racial differences, we cannot explain them. The key point here is that the Wisconsin model does not do an adequate job of describing for whites the process by which father's status is transmitted to their sons. It does, however, do an adequate job for blacks. Stated simply, our model seems to ignore a rather crucial aspect in the white process. Exactly what this aspect might be is open to question at the present time. We have uncovered some results, however, which might give us clues.

Table 3 shows that the mean aspiration levels for blacks are nearly equal to those for whites. This result is striking given two other findings. First, the black means are lower than the white means on all other variables in the model. Second, the black regression coefficients in the two aspiration equations are almost uniformly lower for blacks. Thus, while it would seem that blacks should face a double handicap in developing high aspiration levels, the actual differences are quite small. The reason for this, as we noted above, seems to be the higher intercepts for blacks in the two equations. Substantively, this finding would mean that blacks on the bottom of the scale for all of our variables would have higher aspirations than those of similarly situated whites.

This finding raises the possibility that black aspiration levels are unrealistically high given their non-racial social constraints. A recent

study by Katz (1967) which takes a more detailed look into this problem reaches the same basic conclusion. As further evidence, if we substitute the black means into the white equations, the predicted black mean on educational aspiration is reduced from 3.39 to 2.35, and on occupational aspiration from 71.07 to 67.14. Thus, if we make the assumption that both blacks and whites develop their aspirations via the same equation, the mean differences between the two races more than double on both aspiration measures.

Now, exactly what does this exercise tell us about black-white differences in the process by which aspiration levels are developed? To begin with, it seems to indicate that the formula black youths carry around in their heads to determine their aspiration levels places less emphasis on social constraints than the comparable white formula. Thus, it would seem to follow that the aspect of the process that has been omitted from the white model is some type of socialization mechanism that acts to tie the aspirations of white youths more closely to the constraints produced by their social origins. The existence of this mechanism, by whatever name it may come to be called, would appear to be a likely explanation for the differences found in the process by which white and black youths develop their aspirations.

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Table 1. Decomposition of Unstandardized Effects on Educational and Occupational Attainment for Duncan's Model of Status Transmission for Black and White Males Aged 25-64 Years with Non-Farm Background*

Race and Dependent Variable	Source	Independent Variables X_6	X_5	X_4	X_3
White X_3	Total	.220	.021	-.117	--
	Direct	.181	.019	-.117	--
	Indirect	.039	.002	--	--
Black X_3	Total	.340	.007	-.071	--
	Direct	.336	.006	-.071	--
	Indirect	.004	.001	--	--
White X_2	Total	2.291	.311	-1.297	7.964
	Direct	.256	.138	-.365	7.964
	Indirect	2.035	.173	-.932	--
Black X_2	Total	2.058	.034	-.364	3.653
	Direct	.811	.005	-.105	3.653
	Indirect	1.247	.029	-.259	--

* Computed from Table 4-1(Duncan, 1968c:92). The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Respondent's Income
X_2 -Respondent's Income
X_3 -Respondent's Education
X_4 -Number of Siblings
X_5 -Family Head's Occupation
X_6 -Family Head's Education

Table 2. Zero-Order Correlations for Black and White Males*

	X_1	X_2	X_{3a}	X_{3b}	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9
X_1	--	.598	.413	.120	.194	.306	.325	.367	.269	.315
X_2	.410	--	.479	.247	.270	.418	.406	.331	.336	.377
X_{3a}	.254	.367	--	.232	.230	.312	.239	.254	.244	.309
X_{3b}	.094	.052	.162	--	.413	.315	.093	.081	.106	.105
X_4	.106	.084	.116	.398	--	.460	.169	.166	.172	.159
X_5	.192	.187	.171	.329	.569	--	.199	.219	.270	.283
X_6	.354	.377	.085	.196	.082	.123	--	.159	.179	.159
X_7	.188	.231	.234	.118	.116	.129	.146	--	.380	.549
X_8	.330	.282	.232	.089	.102	.147	.217	.478	--	.556
X_9	.199	.194	.248	.115	.107	.106	.192	.462	.530	--

*Correlations above the diagonal are for white males and those below the diagonal are for black males. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_{3a}-Peers' College Plans
X_{3b}-Peer Educ. Encouragement
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations for Black and White Males

Variable	White $\bar{x}$	White S.D.	Black $\bar{x}$	Black S.D.
X_1	74.04	10.41	71.07	12.09
X_2	3.99	2.47	3.39	2.59
X_{3a}	0.73	0.45	0.46	0.50
X_{3b}	3.81	0.86	3.75	1.00
X_4	4.12	0.82	3.84	0.94
X_5	4.33	0.80	3.98	0.95
X_6	2.56	0.64	2.41	0.58
X_7	67.15	10.89	50.21	11.09
X_8	11.73	2.82	8.69	3.75
X_9	11.93	3.79	7.29	4.17
	N=1166		N=287	

The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_{3a} -Peers' College Plans
X_{3b} -Peer Educ. Encouragement
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 4. Standardized Regression Coefficients and Coefficients of Determination for Combined Peer Influence Model for Black and White Males

Race and Dependent Variable	X_9	X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_{3a}	X_{3b}	R^2
White									
X_6	.0426	.1214*	.0895*	--	--	--	--	--	.0427
X_5	.1502*	.1377*	.0614	.1402*	--	--	--	--	.1209
X_4	.0359	.0949*	.0889*	.1326*	--	--	--	--	.0593
X_{3a}	.1880*	.0708*	.0953*	.1816*	--	--	--	--	.1431
X_{3b}	.0510	.0570	.0196	.0720*	--	--	--	--	.0197
X_2	.0988*	.0759*	.0914*	.2530*	.1902*	.0040	.2687*	.0734*	.4231
X_1	.0322	.0408	.2105*	.1935*	.1246*	.0078	.2583*	-.0425	.3045
Black									
X_6	.0995	.1514*	.0274	--	--	--	--	--	.0560
X_5	.0090	.0892	.0688	.0919	--	--	--	--	.0343
X_4	.0465	.0311	.0718	.0561	--	--	--	--	.0211
X_{3a}	.1362*	.0978	.1214	.0199	--	--	--	--	.0866
X_{3b}	.0532	-.0130	.0741	.1776*	--	--	--	--	.0485
X_2	-.0394	.1200	.0725	.3301*	.1182	-.0196	.3031*	-.1074	.2933
X_1	-.0280	.2297*	.0003	.2895*	.1134	-.0058	.1713*	-.0425	.2335

*Denotes coefficients at least twice their standard error. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_{3a}-Peers' College Plans
X_{3b}-Peer Educ. Encouragement
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 5. Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Combined Peer Influence Model for Black and White Males

Race and Dependent Variable	∝	X_9	Independent Variables X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_{3a}	X_{3b}
White									
X_6	1.7893	.00	.0277*	*	--	--	--	--	--
X_5	2.7474	.0	.038		.1734*	--	--	--	--
X_4	2.8168	.0	.027		.1697*	--	--	--	--
X_{3a}	-.2482	.	.011	039*	.1255*	--	--	--	--
X_{3b}	3.1202	.01	.01	0016	.0965*	--	--	--	--
X_2	-5.9163	.0644*	.0665	207*	.9704*	.5901*	.0120	1.4920*	.2100*
X_1	39.0182	.08	.1504		.1267*	1.6280	0979	6.0405*	-.2990
Black									
X_6	2.0297	.013	.0234*		--	--	--	--	--
X_5	3.1043	.00	.0226		.1509	--	-	--	--
X_4	3.1734	.01	.0078		.0907	--	-	--	--
X_{3a}	-.0815	.01	.0130		.0172	--	-	--	--
X_{3b}	2.6130	.012	-.0035		.3057*	--	-	--	--
X_2	-2.3085	-.02	.0828		1.4749	.3217	542	1.5696*	-.2788
X_1	45.2183	-.09	.7411*		6.0428*	1.4419	750	4.1461*	-.5152

* Denotes coefficients at least twice their standard error. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_{3a} -Peers' College Plans
X_{3b} -Peer Educ. Encouragement
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 6. Correlations Among Residual Terms for Combined Peer Influence Model for Black and White Males*

	X_t	X_u	X_v	X_w	X_y	X_z
X_t	--	.3595	.1732	.2871	**	**
X_u	.1323	--	.1575	.1959	**	**
X_v	.5589	.0800	--	.3953	**	**
X_w	.3067	.1281	.3838	--	**	**
X_y	**	**	**	**	--	.3978
X_z	**	**	**	**	.2177	--

** Correlations assumed to be zero in the estimation procedure.
* Correlations above the diagonal are for white males and those below the diagonal are for black males. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_t -Residual for X_5

X_u -Residual for X_{3a}

X_v -Residual for X_4

X_w -Residual for X_{3b}

X_y -Residual for X_2

X_z -Residual for X_1

Table 7. Standardized Regression Coefficients and Coefficients of Determination for Peers' College Plans Model for Black and White Males

Race and Dependent Variable	Independent Variables X_9	X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_3	R^2
White								
X_6	.0426	.1214*	.0895*	--	--	--	--	.0427
X_5	.1502*	.1377*	.0614	.1402*	--	--	--	.1209
X_4	.0359	.0949*	.0889*	.1326*	--	--	--	.0593
X_3	.1880*	.0708*	.0953*	.1816*	--	--	--	.1431
X_2	.0984*	.0785*	.0892*	.2519*	.2001*	.0282	.2780*	.4189
X_1	.0323	.0408	.2112*	.1939*	.1213*	-.0004	.2551*	.3040
Black								
X_6	.0995	.1514*	.0274	--	--	--	--	.0560
X_5	.0090	.0892	.0688	.0919	--	--	--	.0343
X_4	.0465	.0311	.0718	.0561	--	--	--	.0211
X_3	.1362*	.0978	.1214	.0199	--	--	--	.0866
X_2	-.0422	.1245*	.0690	.3142*	.1052	-.0523	.2935*	.2842
X_1	-.0291	.2315*	-.0011	.2832*	.1083	-.0187	.1676*	.2320

*Denotes coefficients at least twice their standard error. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_3 -Peers' College Plans
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 8. Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Peers' College Plans Model for Black and White Males

Race and Dependent Variable	α	Independent Variables X_9	X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_3
White								
X_6	1.7893	.0072	.0277*	.0053*	--	--	--	--
X_5	2.7474	.0316*	.0389*	.0045	.1734*	--	--	--
X_4	2.8168	.0078	.0277*	.0067*	.1697*	--	--	--
X_3	-.2482	.0221*	.0112*	.0039*	.1255*	--	--	--
X_2	-5.5368	.0641*	.0664*	.0202*	.9665*	.6208*	.0845	1.5439*
X_1	38.4778	.0888	.1506	.2018*	3.1322*	1.5843*	-.0054	5.9667*
Black								
X_6	2.2097	.0138	.0234*	.0014	--	--	--	--
X_5	3.1043	.0021	.0226	.0059	.1509	--	--	--
X_4	3.1734	.0104	.0078	.0061	.0907	--	--	--
X_3	-.0815	.0163*	.0130	.0055	.0172	--	--	--
X_2	-2.6441	-.0262	.0860*	.0161	1.4041*	.2861	-.1445	1.5201*
X_1	44.5983	-.0844	.7469*	-.0012	5.9119*	1.3763	-.2420	4.0545*

* Denotes coefficients at least twice their standard error. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_3 -Peers' College Plans
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -Grade Point Average
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Table 9. Correlations Among Residual Terms for Peers' College Plans Model for Black and White Males*

	X_u	X_v	X_w	X_y	X_z
X_u	--	.4160	.3257	**	**
X_v	.5588	--	.1574	**	**
X_w	.1322	.0800	--	**	**
X_y	**	**	**	--	.3942
X_z	**	**	**	.2187	--

**Correlations assumed to be zero in the estimation procedure.
*Correlations above the diagonal are for white males and those below the diagonal are for black males. The variables are numbered as follows:

X_u -Residual for X_5

X_v -Residual for X_4

X_w -Residual for X_3

X_y -Residual for X_2

X_z -Residual for X_1

Table 10. Decomposition of Unstandardized Effects for Peers' College Plans Model for Black and White Males

Race and Dependent Variable	Source	Independent Variables X_9	X_8	X_7	X_6	X_5	X_4	X_3
White X_2	Total	.1347	.1457	.0364	1.2821	.6208	.0845	1.5439
	Direct	.0641	.0664	.0202	.9665	.6208	.0845	1.5439
	SOI	.0543	.0438	.0094	.3156	--	--	--
	GPA	.0163	.0355	.0068	--	--	--	--
Black X_2	Total	.0179	.1453	.0274	1.4604	.2861	-.1445	1.5201
	Direct	-.0262	.0860	.0161	1.4041	.2861	-.1445	1.5201
	SOI	.0239	.0251	.0092	.0563	--	--	--
	GPA	.0202	.0342	.0021	--	--	--	--
White X_1	Total	.3007	.3940	.4035	4.1548	1.5845	-.0054	5.9667
	Direct	.0888	.1506	.2018	3.1322	1.5845	-.0054	5.9667
	SOI	.1820	.1283	.0303	1.0226	--	--	--
	GPA	.0299	.1151	.1714	--	--	--	--
Black X_1	Total	.0662	.9731	.0529	6.1674	1.3763	-.2420	4.0545
	Direct	-.0844	.7469	-.0012	5.9119	1.3763	-.2420	4.0545
	SOI	.0655	.0819	.0289	.2555	--	--	--
	GPA	.0851	.1443	.0252	--	--	--	--

The variables are numbered as follows:

X_1 -Occupational Aspiration
X_2 -Educational Aspiration
X_3 -Peers' College Plans
X_4 -Teacher Educ. Encouragement
X_5 -Parental Educ. Encouragement
X_6 -GPA
X_7 -Father's Occupation
X_8 -Mother's Education
X_9 -Father's Education

Black

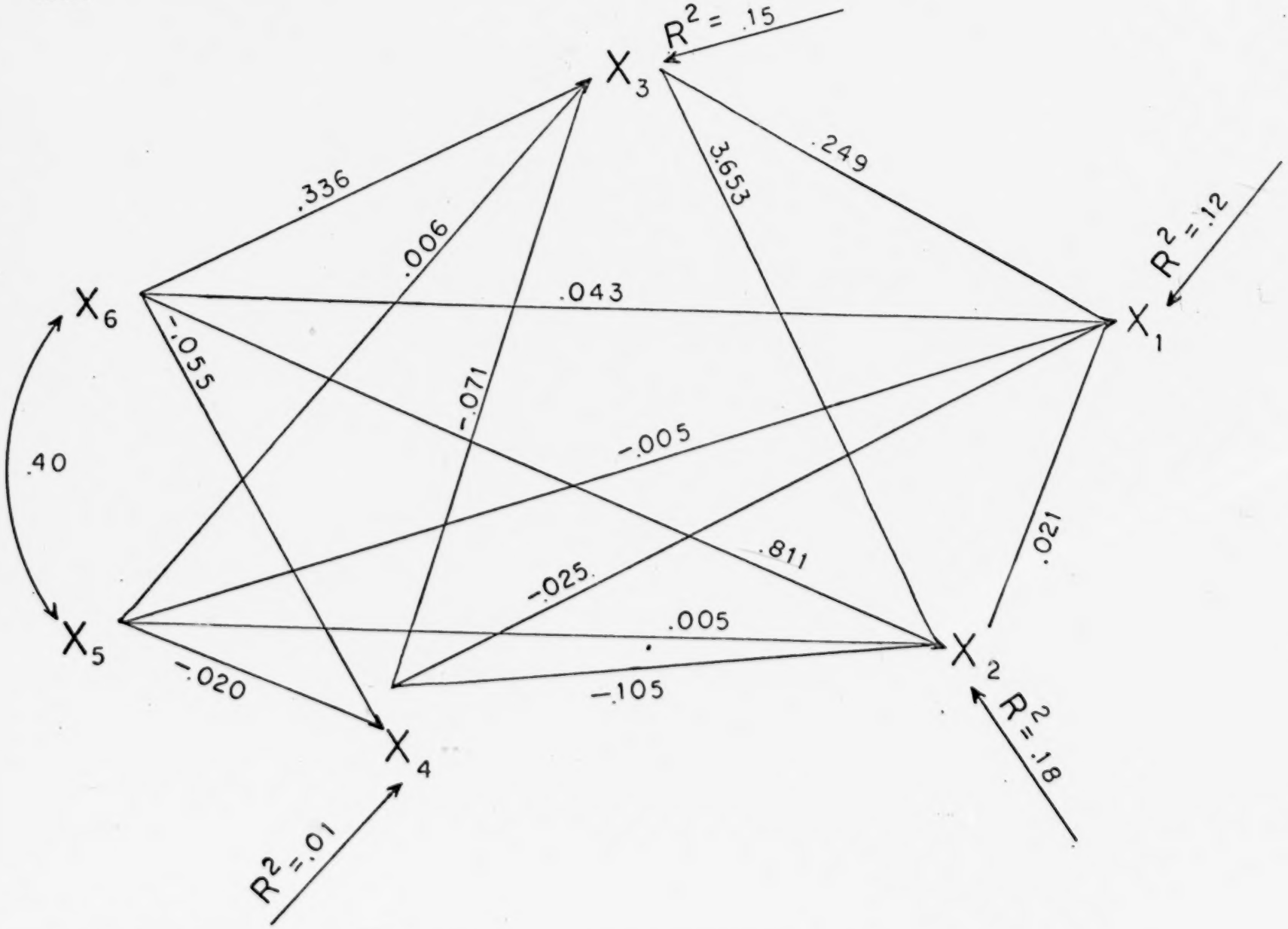

Figure 1a. Path Regression Model of Status Transmission For Black Males. (Duncan, 1968b) (Variables are identified in Table 1.)

White

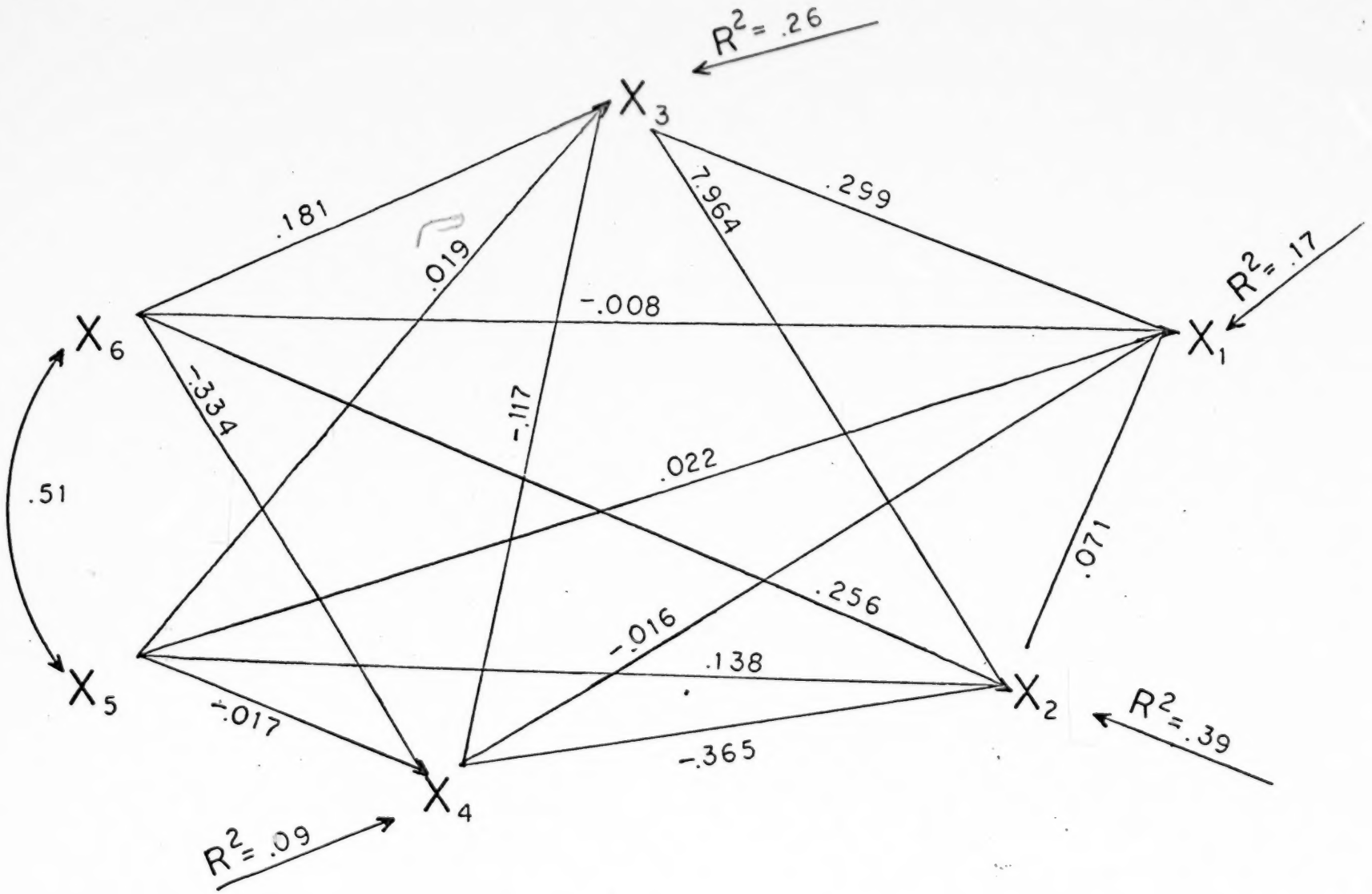

Figure 1b. Path Regression Model of Status Transmission for White Males. (Duncan, 1968b) (Variables are identified in Table 1.)

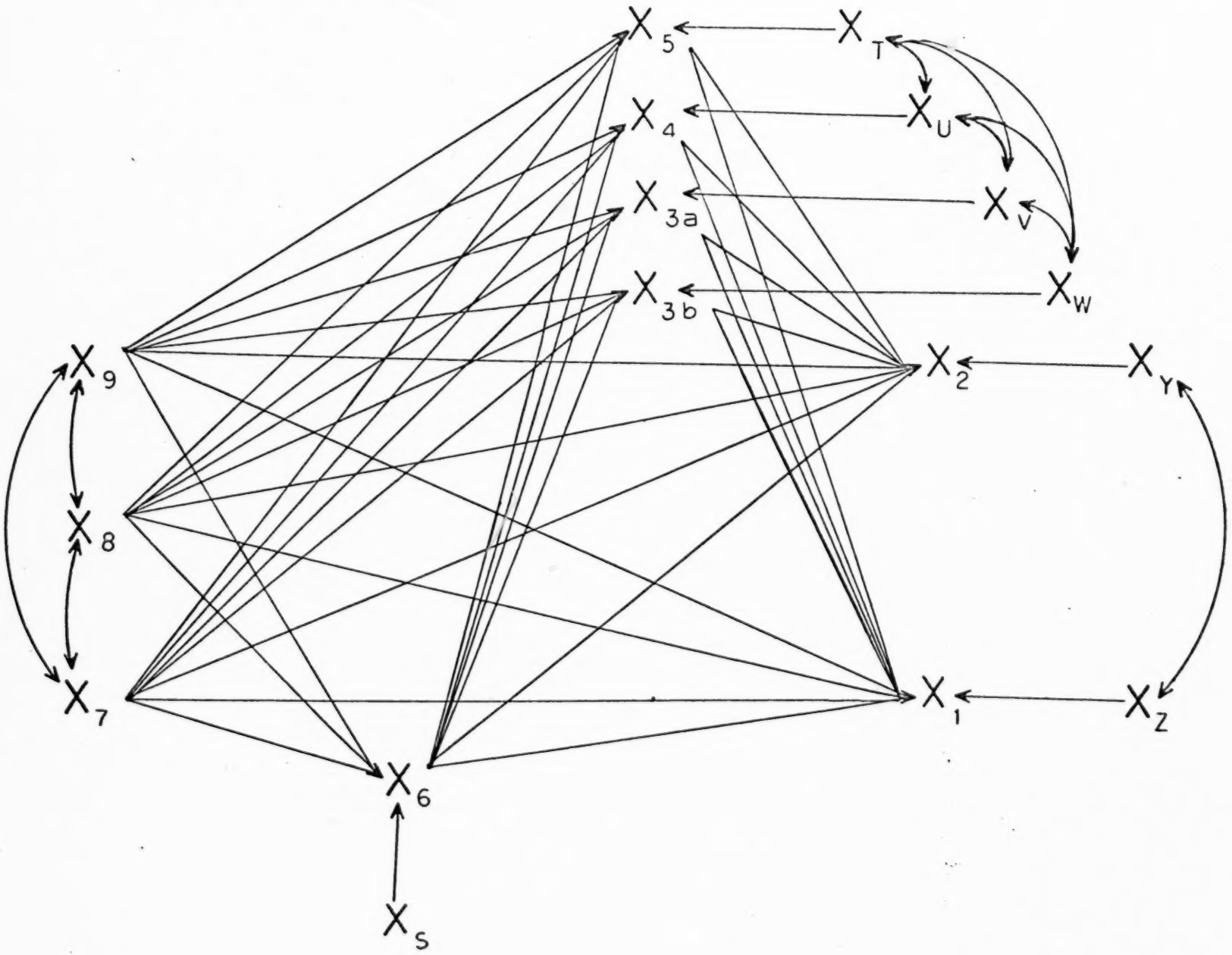

Figure 2. Path Diagram For Combined Peer Influence Model. (Variables are identified in Table 4.)

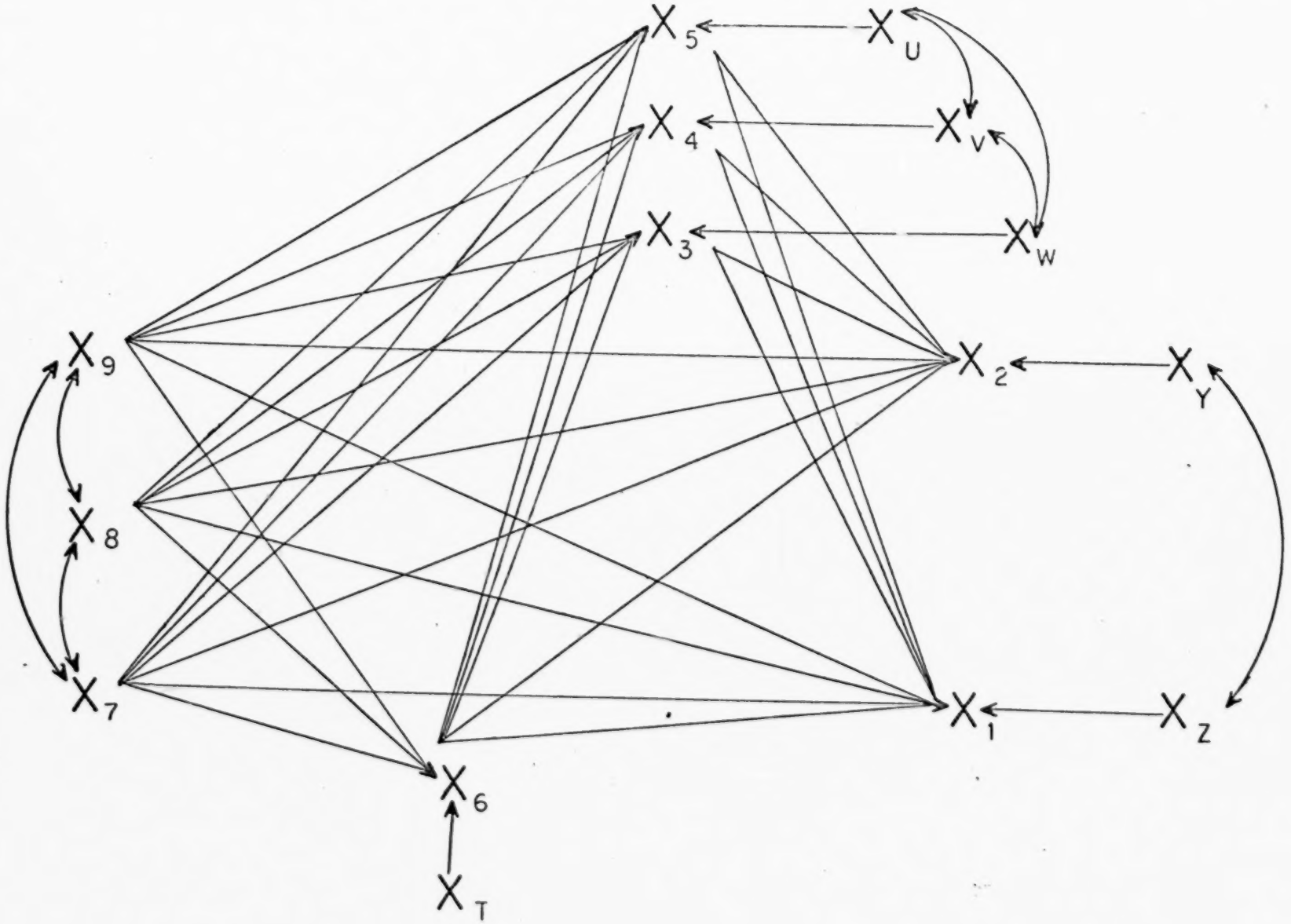

Figure 3. Path Diagram For Peers' College Plans Model. (Variables are identified in Table 7.)